1	IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT			
2	WESTERN DISTRICT OF MISSOURI WESTERN DIVISION			
3	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, )			
4	Plaintiff	-,	) ) No.	2:22-cv-04022 July 6, 2022 Kansas City, Missouri CIVIL
5	v.		)	
6	STATE OF MISSOURI,		)	
7	Defendant.		)	
8				
9	TRANSCRIPT OF ORAL ARGUMENT BEFORE THE HONORABLE BRIAN C. WIMES UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE			
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11	Proceedings recorded by electronic voice writing Transcript produced by computer			
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14		<u>APPEARANC</u>	CES	
15	For Plaintiff: MS. CASSIE SNYDER MR. DANIEL SCHWEI			
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25	St. Louis, MO 63101  Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR			
	United States Court Reporter			
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1 July 6th, 2022 2. THE COURT: Good afternoon. Let the Court call the case. This is United States versus state of Missouri, Case 3 4 22-cv-04022. Can I have parties enter their appearance 5 for the record, please. I'll start with the government. 6 MS. SNYDER: Good afternoon, Your Honor. Cassie 7 Snyder with the Department of Justice on behalf of the United And with me I have Daniel Schwei. 8 9 THE COURT: Daniel, can you spell the last name? 10 MS. SNYDER: Sure. S-C-H-W-E-I. 11 And I also have Alan Simpson with the US attorney's 12 office. 13 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. 14 And the lone attorney for the state of Missouri. 15 Can I have your name? 16 MR. TALENT: Good afternoon, Your Honor. 17 Michael Talent for the state of Missouri, the 18 governor, and the Attorney General's estate as well. 19 THE COURT: Good afternoon, Mr. Talent. 20 Let me tell you how the Court plans on proceeding. 21 What I want to do is five the parties the opportunity to make 2.2 the argument to the Court. Obviously, there will be some 23 questions throughout. My intent is to give each side 30 24 minutes -- well, 20 minutes, and then I will give you the 2.5 opportunity for any rebuttal. Then I will probably step off Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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the bench, after both arguments to gather my thoughts. If I have any additional questions in the final ten minutes or if you want to address any of the arguments made by the other side that you think are most relevant to the Court in making this determination.

With that said, why don't the United States as the movant, Ms. Snyder.

MS. SNYDER: Good afternoon, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Good afternoon.

MS. SNYDER: Cassie Snyder with the Department of Justice on behalf of the United States.

The federal government filed this action because H.B.85 poses substantial threat to public safety and does so in a manner that squarely violates the United States

Constitution. Since the enactment of H.B. 85 it has become harder for federal law enforcement to investigate violent crime and to share evidence. Some state and local law enforcement agencies are no longer inputting ballistics data into national databases. The state information fusion center has stoped working with us. And the Kansas City Police

Department has stopped testing firearms. That all makes it harder to investigate violent crimes at the front end which must happen before the government can even decide what possible federal or state charges it may bring.

THE COURT: Let me ask you, it seems when I was Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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reviewing the briefing it's the argument of the Supremacy Clause. And what this statute does is to nullify federal law and you site to two statutes in which it nullifies. Does it? Let me ask this question in this sense, what it says is that we will not have law enforcement officials at the state level in essence assist the federal government and the carrying out of those federal laws.

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MS. SNYDER: Yes, Your Honor, it does nullify This is not just a law about the federal federal law. government forcing the state to use state resources to enforce federal law. That's not what this is about. That, of course, is protected under the Tenth Amendment under the anti common-dearing doctrine. In particular the principle in prince, which states that Congress shall pass no law that requires either the state legislature or state officials to enact or enforce a particular regulatory scheme. That is not what is happening here. Rather, the state has passed a law that not only purports to nullify federal law. In particular, the National Firearms Act and the Gun Control Act, but then operational that nullification in later provisions. example, imposing a duty on courts and law enforcement entities to protect against these federal gun laws as described in Section 1.420. Penalizing the use of federal authority in the Civil Penalty Act. This is not a case where the federal government has passed a law that is requiring the Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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H.B.85 is affirmatively interfering with and discriminating against the use of federal authority. In particular, many informs information sharing that the state once considered to be an established practice is no longer happening. So as I stated, no longer inputting ballistics information, refusing to test firearms, even assuming that these statutes provisions only apply to state and local entities, which we do not believe is true, but even assuming that --

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THE COURT: -- why don't you believe it's true? Why don't you believe that it only applies to that? It seems like the argument, and I'll talk to counsel, that it just applies to Missouri. They're saying -- at least part of what I'm reading, my understanding again, is that, well, we don't believe -- we are not suggesting in anyway usurping federal statute, you still can enforce, but it will not -- it will not be with the cooperation of the law enforcement of the state of Missouri.

MS. SNYDER: Only to look is at both the tangible effects of this law, and of the plain language of this law.

So in regards to tangible effects, for example, task force officers are being limited not only in participation in task forces but also in the types of federal law that they can enforce while serving on task forces. So of course task force officers are state and local law enforcement officials who Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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have deputized with federal authority, and when they serve on task forces they act with federal authority. The Missouri State Highway Patrol has instructed many of task force officers that they can only enforce certain types of federal laws when acting as federal task force officers. So you see a direct regulation of federal government in that sense. looking -- to return to your initial question, looking at just the text of the stature, nothing in the text of the statute actually limits this to state and local officials. language of the statute says no entity or person shall have the authority to enforce these laws, the civil penalty schemes impose penalties on any political subdivision or law enforcement entity. So just the plain text of the statute applies both to state and federal entities. But what if they just modify or amend THE COURT:

THE COURT: But what if they just modify or amend the part to take out just the entities or kind of that broader language and make it more specific to subdivisions of Missouri. That still wouldn't change the argument would it, for you?

MS. SNYDER: Right.

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THE COURT: That would change that part of the argument, because now we have plain language that I know you interpret as being broader than simply just law enforcement for the state of Missouri, it would be arguably applicable to federal agents. Say you take that part out, that doesn't Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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change your argument, does it?

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MS. SNYDER: Exactly, Your Honor. It does not change the argument for two reasons. First, it would still apply to these task force agents who are still state and local They simply serve with federal authority. the first reason. Moreover, we still see the tangible affects of this law affirmatively discriminating against the use of federal authority. So again, the civil penalty scheme penalizing federal officials for using federal authority, penalizing state employees for using federal authority. In particular 1460 and 70 impose hefty substantial monetary penalties on any political subdivision and law enforcement agency. And again, even assuming that that is only state and local entities, any of them that either employ an individual who enforces or attempts to these federal laws or who hires an individually who has previously enforced these laws. effectively baring federal officials from employment with the state. And that is a direct regulation of federal 3, direct interference with federal authority. You will also see the state withdrawing certain forms of information sharing in a discriminatory manner. The doctrine of intergovernmental says, no state can discriminate against the federal government on the basis of governmental status. That is exactly what is happening here. You have these long standing practices of information sharing, and suddenly with the enactment of H.B.85 Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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those practices have been withdrawn. Our federal partners are saying, the state and local partners are saying because of H.B.85 we are no longer able to share information with you.

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THE COURT: Have there been any other states that have taken the position or any similar position to that of the state of Missouri in terms of any legislative or any enactments by any other state legislatures who have been imposed like or similar statutes as this one?

MS. SNYDER: There have been a couple of other states who have imposed similar laws, similar anti-federal firearms laws. Some of them are more abstract. H.B. 85 is unique in that it imposes, again, these really affirmatively interfering provisions. So it's not only the central notification scheme, but operationalizing that nullification by imposing penalties on federal officials, imposing a duty on courts and law enforcement to protects against these laws, prohibiting any person or entity from enforcing these laws. But there have been some other laws that are similar. Those laws have been held preempted where sort of comparably have been held to not constitute a defense against a federal firearms conviction for the reason that states cannot nullify federal firearms laws.

So you have Montana. Montana held a comparable law to be preempted by federal firearms law. The Tenth Circuit held that Kansas, Kansas' is similar -- it is actually called Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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SAPA as well, they held that law to be not a defense against a 1 2 federal firearms conviction because states cannot nullify 3 federal law. And we have actually seen H.B. 85 addressed in courts within Missouri, so both the Eastern District and the 4 5 Western District in the context of criminal cases have held 6 that H.B. 85 is preempted by federal firearms law. 7 THE COURT: I think you might've cited that, you 8 said from the Western District. Was that a Judge Ketchmark opinion or she adopted that from one of our magistrates I 9 10 think? 11 MS. SNYDER: Yes, it was definitely an adopted 12 recommendation. I couldn't tell you the judge's name off 13 hand. 14 THE COURT: I think it was. Thank you. 15 Go ahead. 16 MS. SNYDER: I'd like to return to the central 17 nullification provision in-states 1.420. 18 THE COURT: Sure. 19 MS. SNYDER: Again, states cannot nullify federal 20 This is a fundamental principle, it goes all the way 21 back to McCulloch v. Maryland. You saw the Supreme Court 2.2 expressly reject the nullification doctrine in Copper v. Aaron 23 when southern state legislatures attempted to nullify Brown v. 24 Board of Education. 2.5 Supreme Court has just repeatedly and emphatically

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emphasized states cannot nullify federal law and states cannot
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     impose their own interpretation upon federal law.
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     interpretation of the constitution on federal law.
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     exactly what H.B. 85 purports to do.
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     nullification scheme declares that these broad categories of
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     federal firearms laws are nullified and then the remaining
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     provisions, as I say, operationalize that nullification. And
     that overrule nullification scheme is what violates both the
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     Supremacy Clause and long-standing Supreme Court precedent.
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               THE COURT: And so you're talking the scheme, just
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     clarify that for this the Court. I think I know what you're
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     saying but I just want to make sure I'm understanding that
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     correctly.
               MS. SNYDER: Yes. So the scheme is really how all
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     these provisions interact. You have the central nullification
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     sort of premise or effort in 1.420, and all of the other
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     provisions are necessarily dependent upon that premise.
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     all explicitly cross-reference back to that scheme except I
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     believe 1.430 which sort of implicitly cross-references back
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     to 1.420.
               THE COURT: And that is why you say it is
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     non-severable?
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               MS. SNYDER: Exactly.
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               THE COURT: But you're saying even if -- isn't there
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     a provision within that statute I thought I read that it's
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                 United States Court Reporter
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1 | severable?

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MS. SNYDER: There is a provision that sort of mirrors Missouri's severability rule.

THE COURT: Yeah.

MS. SNYDER: Yeah, exactly. That severability rule, it's a two part test. The first part is once we find the unconstitutional provision to be invalid are the remaining provisions still complete and susceptible of constitutional enforcement?

THE COURT: Okay.

MS. SNYDER: And then second part of this test is again, taking away the unconstitutional provision, would the remaining provision still have been enacted by the Missouri state legislator? And H.B.85 fails on both of these prongs. We can see that none of these provisions would be complete without the central nullification provision because none of them make sense. They don't simply cross-reference back to 1.420, they are necessarily dependent upon 1.420. The duty, for example, in 1.440 makes no sense without reference to what that duty means in 1.420. The civil penalty schemes can't be brought against anybody unless you know that they can be brought for the enforcement of these federal firearms laws in 1.420. So all of these provisions necessarily refer back to 1.420.

THE COURT: Okay.

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MS. SNYDER: It's worth also mentioning very quickly that this is not a case about the Second Amendment. This is a case about the Supremacy Clause. Missouri does not attempt to justify its nullification attempt on controlling precedent regarding the Second Amendment. Nothing in either the text of H.B.85 or in any of the state's briefly justifies this nullification based on actual controlling Second Amendment precedent. This is instead a case about Missouri trying to interpose its own interpretation upon federal firearms laws. Its own interpretation of the Second Amendment.

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And just to kind of review some of these tangible harms that we've already talked about. Based on these tangible harms we know that these provisions are far more than just simply some abstract declaration of policy by the state. Again, we know this because the tangible harms that this statute has already imposed, the restriction of information sharing in a discriminatory manner, the withdrawal of task force officers, the limitations on the types of federal authority that task force officers can wheeled. So really these are, these provisions are imposing affirmative rights and obligations on the citizens of Missouri.

We also know just this just based on Missouri's

statutes -- sorry -- statutory interpretation. The Missouri

state legislature shall not be presumed to have inserted

verbiage in its statutes. And it shall be presumed to have

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meant every word that it says. So looking at these provisions we know just based on the plain language they are, the plain language is affirming, affirmatively imposing duties and obligations. If they were merely declaratory, they would be declaring the same thing over and over again.

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H.B.85 also independently violates the doctrine of intergovernmental immunity which we briefly mentioned already. This doctrine prevents states from passing any law that either regulates the United States directly or discriminates against the federal government or those with government deals, so for examples, employees, contactors. And we just saw a great example of the doctrine of intergovernmental immunity applied a couple weeks ago by the Supreme Court in the United States for Washington. We filed a short supplemental brief on this case. That case confirmed that a state law violates this doctrine if it singles an individual or entity out for less favorable treatment or if it regulates them unfavorably based on their governmental status.

And H.B.85 specifically violates this doctrine in three general ways. It's also worth noting the state does not dispute any of these facts on the merits. First of all,
H.B.85 penalizes federal officials and those who act with federal authority. Again, we see this in the civil penalty scheme which effectively bars former federal officials of employment with the state. Imposing this unique disability on Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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federal officials by attaching liability only to the exercise of federal authority and not to comparable state authority.

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The second way that H.B 85 violates the doctrine of intergovernmental immunity is by denying federal authority to enforce federal law. And again, you see this in overlapping provisions in H.B.85. 1.440 imposing a duty on the courts and law enforcement agencies of this state to protect against the federal firearms laws nullified in 1.420. 1.450 saying that no person or entity. Again, the plain language of this. No person or entity encompasses federal persons and federal entities. And again, as we already discussed, even if this applies only to state agencies, you still run into the problem of regulating task force officers.

And the third way that H.B.85 violates the doctrine of intergovernmental immunity is through restricting information sharing in a discriminatory manner. And we know first of all, that information sharing is different from a Tenth Amendment prospective based on Reno v. Condon, and then we also have these defendants refusing, discriminatorily refusing to share information only with the federal government, not with comparable state authorities.

I'd like to also discuss conflict preemption. The express purpose of this statute is nullification, and therefore, H.B. 85 acts as an obstacle to the accomplishment and execution of the full purposes and objectives of Congress.

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In particular, again, it conflicts with the National Firearms

Act and the Gun Control Act. And again, multiple courts have

confirmed this preemption.

For those reasons this Court should enter an injunction baring Missouri and its officials from enforcing H.B.85.

THE COURT: Thank you, counsel.

Mr. Talent.

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MR. TALENT: Good afternoon, Your Honor. Michael Talent representing the state defendants.

I will confess to being a bit at a loss here because the United States has come to this Court and said that SAPA, the Second Amendment Preservation Act, or H.B. 85, denies the federal government authority to enforce federal law. And that I think is the crux of this case. Because that is the basis from which their nullification argument, their supremacy argument flows. And as the Court noted in its questions to counsel, the state takes a different position. That SAPA simple effects state entities, SAPA implements the state policy position provides state resources to the federal government, to enforce and implement federal laws and policies that infringe on the fundamental right according to state of law.

THE COURT: Isn't the state of Missouri making some interpretation of the Second Amendment? This isn't a Second Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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Amendment issue. Would you agree? Do you understand what I'm 1 2 saying? Part of their argument, at least as I understand it, 3 I'm sure counsel will come back up and maybe clarify for the 4 Court. But my position is this, it is you making some level 5 of determination of an interpretation of the Second Amendment, 6 are you not? 7 MR. TALENT: The general assemble is, Yes, Your And there is also embodied in the state constitution. 8 I think you're getting to the government's guote. And I think 10 that this is a direct quote from my friend on the other side. 11 "That states cannot impose their own interpretation of federal 12 law." That states can't interpret federal law. That is not 13 consistent with the constitutional structure. This is kind of 14 an overarching I think federalism structural issue. States 15 are constitutional actors. They take an oath to interpret the 16 Constitution. They have to implement the Constitution when 17 they engage and create policy. So the state of Missouri has a 18 right and yet creates, for example, its own firearm criminal 19 laws, and the state has such laws to determine whether those 20 laws are consistent with the Second Amendment. 2.1 They can't preempt federal law. THE COURT: 2.2 MR. TALENT: They can't preempt federal law. 23 that's where we get to the question about what SAPA means. 24 THE COURT: Right.

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MR. TALENT:

And this is the crux. The government

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says SAPA denies the federal government the right to enforce federal law, the state says, SAPA simply alters how the state can state resources. State resources don't go to the federal government to help the federal government enforce federal law which my friend concedes is constitutional under Printz. state has the better of the argument and Missouri Supreme Court has said so. In City of St. Louis v. State reported at Volume 643 S.W.3d, this is location site 297 and 298. Missouri Supreme Court has provided an interpretation of SAPA that is consistent with how the state has interpreted the law. And I quote, SAPA's first four sections -- so that's Sections 410 to 440, contain legislative findings and declarations. Ιt is truly declaratory as this state as argued. SAPA's five remaining sections, so that's Sections 1.450 through 485 comprises substantive provisions to enforce its legislative declarations. Section 1.450 removes from Missouri entities, persons, public officers, state employees and political subdivisions, the authority to enforce or attempt to enforce any federal gun law, infringing on the right to keep and bear arms as described under 1.420. So contrary to what my friend came up here and said, 1.450 does not enforce a duty on federal law enforcement. Sections 1.460 and 1.470, the Missouri Supreme Court continued. THE COURT: Sure it does, if a state which is

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commonly held practice my understanding, if a state law Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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enforcement officer, they have a designation with federal
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     authority, I think it is impacting, is it not?
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               MR. TALENT:
                            I think that gets to the question of
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     whether the state is providing state resources to implement
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     federal policy. And then the question then the government
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     doesn't provide any evidence for those deputations.
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     deputations carry with them a vested right to that
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     cooperation. Basically a vested right for Missouri law
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     enforcement entities to implement these aspects of federal law
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     enforcement, federal firearms policy and federal firearms law.
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                           Isn't for the safety of the community at
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     large though? That's why they have worked together, they have
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     always done that. Have they not?
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               MR. TALENT: Yes, Your Honor. And they continue to
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     work together.
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               THE COURT:
                           They can't. They can't.
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     Because what the statute says, if you do there are
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     consequences for that. So the effect of it, has a chilling
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     effect on any law enforcement officer who may be this
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     designation state and also federal task force -- it has a
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     chilling effect. Why? If you do it then you can be liable
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     for up to $50,000 -- I think that's the language. Or it can
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     impact you for further employment. Could it not?
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               MR. TALENT: No, actually that's not quite right.
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               THE COURT:
                           Okay.
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MR. TALENT: So the civil enforcement provisions that you were discussing aren't penalties on an individual officer. They are imposed -- and this is again from the Missouri Supreme Court, they're imposed on state political subdivisions and law enforcement agencies. So as structure of the law, the law is not penalizing any individual officer for engaging in any individual act.

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THE COURT: Okay. It is penalizing Missouri State Highway Patrol?

MR. TALENT: The liability would in this case run to whatever political subdivision or entity.

THE COURT: Therefore, what are they not going to do? I'm not going to deputized or have someone act in the capacity. You can bring it down to the individual or you can make it to the subdivision, but the point is this, it has a chilling effect on the ability to effectuate federal law.

MR. TALENT: The underlying premise of that though,
Your Honor, is that the state must effectuate federal law.

And Printz says the state doesn't have to do it. So the state
is allowed to tell the Highway Patrol for any reason to be
quite honest under Printz -- Printz did not turn on the
underlying constitutionality, either the Brady Act or the
underlying validity of the state law at issue. The state is
allowed to tell the Missouri Highway Patrol that as a matter
of policy, you will not go and enforce these gun laws.

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1 THE COURT: Right. 2 MR. TALENT: And that's all that SAPA does, and 3 that's what the Missouri Supreme Court says. SAPA is not a 4 regulation on the federal government. And that really --5 THE COURT: You really didn't answer my question 6 though. 7 MR. TALENT: Does it show? 8 THE COURT: Yes. Answer my question. 9 MR. TALENT: Well, I think the chilling effect is a 10 factual matter, and the record doesn't support that there is 11 actually major chilling effect. THE COURT: We can both understand if we have a 12 13 governmental or subdivision of a state entity, i.e, state 14 patrol who have officers who commonly work with federal 15 agents, and some of which are deputized in a way to give them 16 some level of federal authority, and now we know that that 17 highway or state department they didn't do it because they 18 could be held liable. Is that not true? 19 MR. TALENT: Under SAPA, yes. 20 So we could agree notwithstanding having THE COURT: 21 the data, now you're gonna have officers who normally would 2.2 unable to do it for the fear of the scheme set up by SAPA that 23 somehow you are going to be penalized or fined up to \$50,000, 24 is that not the case? 2.5 The subdivision could be, but that is a MR. TALENT: Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR

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1 constitutional question whether Missouri can implement that 2 policy.

THE COURT: Right.

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MR. TALENT: There is nothing preventing the federal government from filling any gap left by the highway patrol or local law enforcement from cooperating with the federal government. Nothing prevents the federal government from devoting all the resources it wants into the --

THE COURT: Say that again. I think this whole statute prevents you from cooperating?

MR. TALENT: And that is Missouri's right under Printz, Your Honor. The Printz says the degree of cooperation is left up to the states. To quote from Printz as Madison expressed it, this is Printz quoting federalists 39, "The local and municipal authorities from distinctive and independent portions of the supremacy no more subject within the respective spheres to the general authority, than the general authority is subject to them within their own spheres." The nullification question that the government has deposited here, from their exhibit, Exhibit 5, nullification is the claim that federal law is void and that no entity including the federal government can force it in a state. That's how they define it in the exhibit that they provided to this Court. Before SAPA, what happened was the federal government could enforce federal law in the state of Missouri Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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using as many RSV federal resources as it wanted to. After 1 2 SAPA, the federal government can still enforce federal 3 firearms law in the state of Missouri using as many or as few 4 federal resources as it wants to. 5 THE COURT: What about the argument that the USA 6 makes with regard to -- they are talking about the remedies 7 tangible effects, right? 8 MR. TALENT: Yes, sir. 9 THE COURT: What are you thoughts on those? 10 MR. TALENT: Well, I think --11 THE COURT: -- meaning, hey, you only can enforce 12 certain things. There is not the cooperation with collecting 13 information and data and those sort of things that would 14 impact may be larger and greater than the state of Missouri, 15 but you're unable to do those things. 16 MR. TALENT: The federal government can enforce 17 federal firearms law all it wants, it's just not getting the 18 cooperation from the state of Missouri to the same extent that 19 it was before. I think it's worth pointing out that the 20 record does not support this great, grand tangible kind of sky 21 is falling affect. Their is still cooperation. All the 2.2 declarations still pop a note that there is still some degree 23 of cooperation between the federal government and the state. 24 THE COURT: Hold on, it's got to be cooperation

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first that -- it can't be cooperation related to any thing

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federal law, stamps, imposed firearms -- there is a long list.
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     So it has to be cooperation not related to those things which
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     seems very encompassing, to be honest, it's very encompassing.
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     And I don't know what the narrowness of that would be, maybe
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     you have an example of it. I can't think of one, maybe you
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     can. But that has to be very narrow to the level of
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     cooperation, would you not agree with me on that? I mean,
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     that goes right to what the statute was trying to do.
                                                             I mean,
     it wouldn't be -- I mean, right now it's saying level of
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     cooperation with the federal agents enforcing --
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               MR. TALENT: And the level of cooperation by the
    Missouri state entities is left to the sound discretion of the
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     state of Missouri under Printz.
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               THE COURT:
                           Right.
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               MR. TALENT: Because SAPA does not tell the federal
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     government you can't enforce our federal law --
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               THE COURT:
                           It doesn't matter, it could be some or
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    no cooperation?
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               MR. TALENT: That's correct. Under Printz it is up
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     to the state's discretion.
                                 That's entirely true, Your Honor.
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     That's why there is no Supremacy Clause problem. Because SAPA
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     is a regulation, it's a declaration, an implementation of
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     Missouri's policy to protect the fundamental right of law
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     abiding citizens to keep and bear arms. And I know Your Honor
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     said this is a Second Amendment case, we aren't debating any
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particular aspects of any federal firearms law or state law,
but the Second Amendment does lure in the background here.

THE COURT: Is it about the Second Amendment?

MR. TALENT: It's Missouri's policy and
interpretation of the Second Amendment.

Now, I think in this case it's worth while to point out that Missouri's policy and interpretation of the Second

Amendment as a fundamental right of the state constitution references it as unamiable and shall not be questioned. consistent how the US Supreme Court just interrupted the law in Broom as right on par with the right for free speech, free exercise and to confront one's accuser. And what Printz says is that Missouri is allowed to implement its policy, its policy, its policy relating to the Second Amendment, and it does so through the last five sections of SAPA. Missouri is allowed to implement that and to prevent and to prohibit its state resources from going to enforce and implement federal policy relating to firearms that the state finds objectionable. That is not just by the way a merits issue, this also gets to the issue of injury and fact as to standing. And we talked a little bit about this here.

THE COURT: Right.

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MR. TALENT: The government does not have a right to these state resources. Missouri's level of cooperation -- the government doesn't cite to any statute provision or anything Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR
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like that that gives it a right to these resources. It relies solely on the Supremacy Clause which the Supreme Court in Armstrong said is not a source of right, it's a rule of decision for this Court and for the courts across the country. So the level of cooperation from the state of Missouri is voluntary because the government doesn't have a right to these resources. It doesn't have a right to man power from the Missouri State Highway Patrol for Missouri political entities. To implement data or information in a timely fashion or in a procedure the government likes. There's no cognizable injury here. And therefore, there is not an injury in fact.

The standing issue though, there was a lot of discussion up here about Sections 1460 and 1470. The injury,

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discussion up here about Sections 1460 and 1470. The injury, in fact, I think is fairly straightforward. There's a second defect in the government's jurisdiction regarding traceability and redressability. As I pointed out Sections 1.460 and 1.470 apply to state political entities and subdivisions. And again, that's our statutory interpretation, but it's also the construction of the Missouri Supreme Court has put on the stature. So it's authoritative and binding here. The government sues the state of Missouri, sues the governor of the state of Missouri, and sues the Attorney General. On the Eighth Circuit precedent, Calzone v. Hawley, Digital Recognition Networking v. Hutchinson, I think two of the main ones, establishes that the governor and attorney general by Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR

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their general enforcement authority do not have the requisite 1 2 direct connection to enforcement sufficient to establish 3 traceability and redressability. Calzone I think is notable 4 because that involved a suit regarding a law impleted 5 expressly by the Missouri State Highway Patrol. The plaintiff 6 their sued the superintendent of the Highway Patrol, the 7 governor and the Attorney General. I'm going to back you up again. 8 THE COURT: 9 we're going to standing issue but I want to talk a little bit 10 more about a couple things. 11 MR. TALENT: Of course. 12 THE COURT: And I'm trying to get your perspective 13 when the United States, they talk specifically about the 14 National Firearms Act and the Gun Control Act of 1968. 15 and maybe I'm wrong, and counsel maybe will correct me. That 16 seems to be the impact of what House Bill 85 usurps in terms 17 of not allowing the federal government and the law that 18 controls that to enforce that. Does that make sense? 19 MR. TALENT: I think that is what the United States 20 says. 2.1 THE COURT: Yes. Yes. So I want to hear your 2.2 thoughts on that. 23 MR. TALENT: This gets back to what SAPA does. 24 I think you referenced tangible effects, facts in the record, 2.5 I think the best thing to do is when the government says SAPA Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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prevents enforcement of the law, I think the thing to point
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     out is in the facts that they provide. The federal government
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     is enforcing the law, prosecution is happening, the federal
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     government is arresting people for federal gun crimes.
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     friend came up here and cited cases from the Eastern District
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     and the Western District. I think one was Thomas v. United
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     States. I don't remember off the top of my head, I skimmed
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               Those involve gun prosecutions, I think felon in
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     possession charges. Enforcement is happening and the federal
     government is allowed to enforce its law. What SAPA does is
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     it says the state will not aid the federal government in
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     enforcing these categories of law. And that's it, it's a
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     cooperation provision, so it falls squarely within Printz.
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               THE COURT: And one last thing, you know, your time
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     is running a little short and partially fault getting you off
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     track.
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               Talk about this doctrine of intergovernmental
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     immunity. Are you familiar with that?
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               MR. TALENT: I am, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT:
                           Let's talk about that. Let me hear your
    position with respect to that.
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               MR. TALENT: Sure. So that is also answered fully
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     by the fact that SAPA does not actually regulate the federal
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     government.
                 It doesn't discriminate against the federal
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     government.
                 It is set at a level of which Missouri state
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resources could go to aiding the federal government and enforcing federal law in policy. That is squarely within Printz, and because it is squarely within Printz there is not intergovernmental immunity issue.

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This also gets I think to kind of a question you asked earlier something my friend on the other side said about 1460 and 1470, and I think this tailors it in to I think the standing argument as well. 1460 and 1470 do not penalize federal entities. They don't penalize third parties. So United States v. Washington involved third parties who contracted with the government. 1460 and 1470 involve state entities, and put a penalty on state entities who violate the —— who violate Section 1.420 who employ individuals who knowingly violates the law. It's kind of a kin, I think, you can maybe draw a line or analogy at least to the idea of municipal liability in the context of 1983. It's just a way to do that, and SAPA does that. Because SAPA is about calibrating that level of cooperation that falls within Printz.

THE COURT: And my understanding -- and then I'll have counsel address this. When counsel kind of names those three or identifies those three areas, how the doctrine of intergovernmental immunity kind of plays out. One, the argument is with federal officers and this civil penalty scheme. But you would suggest it doesn't limit that?

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MR. TALENT: No, Your Honor. It's a civil penalties scheme on state entities.

THE COURT: On state entities. And to the extent that -- let's say, this has been my example, the highway patrol and deputizing, for lack of a better word, those agents who serve that dual role, they just don't provide those sort of resources so it doesn't impact right? That would be your argument, it doesn't penalize federal officers?

MR. TALENT: It doesn't, no, Your Honor.

THE COURT: It may prevent some from aiding and assisting, but it doesn't penalize?

MR. TALENT: That's right, Your Honor. I think --

THE COURT: I just want to make or correct me.

MR. TALENT: Yes.

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So a case that falls squarely within Printz, I don't think violates under governmental immunity because there is no Supremacy Clause problem. But these further defects here, I think you are kind of getting at this issue. The government brings a facial attack on the statute. The civil penalty provisions involve local political subdivisions, and to the extent they touch on federal officers or employees, they touch on political subdivision and entities who hire those employees. The federal government doesn't have standing to raise any claims about the civil liabilities as opposed on political subdivisions and entities, that's an issue for them.

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And the government doesn't claim third-party standing to do 1 2 that either. As for the former governmental employees, the 3 government doesn't cite any interest it has in the future 4 employment of its individuals. And secondly, the cases the 5 government cites for that proposition, I think Davis v. 6 Michigan State Treasury Department and Tiffany v. Meyers, the 7 former, the former governmental employee was the one that brought the suit. So this kind of gets at this issue with 8 9 this whole lawsuit here. The government wants this Court to 10 rule on an abstract question of law. Is SAPA constitutional? 11 Well, after the Missouri Supreme Court has come in and agreed 12 with the state's interpretation of the law --13 THE COURT: What does the Missouri Supreme Court said about this? 14 15 MR. TALENT: The City of St. Louis. It agrees with 16 the state's interpretation. The first four provisions are 17 declaratory. The last five regulate Missouri entities only. 18 It doesn't regulate the federal government, it doesn't impose 19 a duty on the federal government. It doesn't allow -- it is 20 exactly what the state has said the law means. And it's an 21 authoritative instruction. So we are here with a very 2.2 abstract of law. And it's abstract both because the Missouri 23 Supreme Court has settled the main issue here, which is does 24 SAPA prevent the federal government from enforcing federal law 2.5 and it said no. So the main issue of the government's case is Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR

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abstract, going to the traceability and-redressability standpoint, the government would never be an adverse litigant. And this also gets to your intergovernmental immunity question, Your Honor. The government under the scheme of the statute will never be an adverse litigant. It is state and local entities who will be defendants in lawsuits brought under 1.460 and 1.470. So this is a Muskrat case that we cite. So it's abstract in that sense. It's abstract in the sense, it's abstract in the sense that he individuals the federal government has sued don't have primary enforcement authority for this law. Again, I point this Court to Calzone, to Digital Recognition Network, as very, as good examplars of the idea that the general executive and power of the Governor, the fact the Attorney General has a general duty to implement or enforce state law are not sufficient to establish that direct causation sufficient for Article III standing. relates also to the idea of sovereign immunity and ex parte. And for that reason as well, it's not redressable. I would also end with the cause of action we can get to another level of abstraction here. The government has brought an equitable case to this Court. And equity -- pardon me, they also sue the state, but I glided over that so I'm moving a little quickly to be aware of the Court's time. They sued the state, but as kind of Black Letter law, you can't sue the state. You have to sue to enjoin officers from enforcing the law of the Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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state. You can't enjoin a statute. But this gets to the cause of action point. Recognize in the most recently Whole Women's Health, that the equitable jurisdiction of this Court extends only to causes of actions and forms of relief that were available at common law. What the Court noted in Whole Women's Health, this stretches back to Fitts v. McGhee, 1898, but the idea is that there is no law, there's no cause of action, equitable cause of action that would permit this Court to issue an injunction running to the Governor, running to the Attorney General, Whole Women's Health involve the Attorney General, that would also bind private parties who enforce a lawsuit. And it is the private parties that would impose any harm associated, any harm on the federal government. those private parties that impose a harm on the federal government and as the Eighth Circuit noted in Digital Recognition Network. The Governor and Attorney General do not have authority to enforce the Reader's System Act, just like the Governor and Attorney General don't enforce SAPA. So they do not cause injury to Digital Recognition Network here. The federal government, even assuming, right, all their injuries are cognizable. The Act provides for enforcement only through private actions for damages. Digital Recognitions injury, here the federal government, is fairly traceable only to the private civil litigants who may seek damages under the Act, and thereby enforce the statutes. Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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Okay. That's time. 1 THE COURT: 2 The Court is going to take a brief recess and I'll 3 come back and then give the parties the opportunity to 4 respond. I may have a few more questions at that time. 5 (THEREUPON, a short recess was had; WHEREUPON, the following 6 proceedings were had.) 7 THE COURT: Okay. 8 Ms. Snyder, my first question is this. Maybe I'm 9 not understanding and maybe I need to go review what the 10 Missouri Supreme Court said. What is your interpretation of 11 what the Missouri Supreme Court has already said and the 12 impact that it will have on maybe what this Court does or does 13 not do? 14 MS. SNYDER: That decision should not impact this Court's decision. 15 16 THE COURT: What did the Supreme Court say? 17 MS. SNYDER: The Supreme Court did not consider H.B. 18 85 on the merits. It remanded for the trial court to consider 19 on the first instance. The trial court had initially 20 dismissed on procedural grounds unrelated to this case. 21 Missouri Supreme Court in its background section did describe 2.2 the first half of H.B. 85 as being declaratory legislature 23 findings, and then the second half as being the substantive 24 enforcement provisions. It is unclear if that was actually 2.5 meant as a holding, given that of course, they remanded Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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without considering the merits. And even to the extent that 1 2 it was a holding, it was Dicta, because it didn't go to the 3 merits of the ultimate decision of that case. And we know 4 from binding Eighth Circuit and Supreme Court precedent that 5 Dicta even from a state's highest court interpreting state law 6 is still merely persuasive. And here we know that these 7 provisions are far more than declaratory because they have all of these tangible harms. We also know that these harms are 8 9 extending to federal authority. 10 THE COURT: Okay. And it seems like the state of 11 Missouri is suggesting that the United States doesn't have 12 standing. They're suggesting their standing comes from, hey,

MS. SNYDER: That's definitely not true, Your Honor.

THE COURT: And maybe he didn't say that necessarily, but I kind of take it as, hey, we got to work harder. How do you have standing in this case?

we have to work harder doing our job now.

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MS. SNYDER: We have standing because the United States is the target of this law. The United States is being directly harmed by this law. I think a good example is to consider if there were a similar law passed targeting a corporation in a similar way, telling other entities you cannot contract with this corporation, if you hire people from this corporation we are going to penalize you. That

corporation would certainly have standing. And in this case Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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Missouri is implementing and enforcing H.B. 85 that is having
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     tangible harms on the United States. Multiple courts have
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     confirmed that the United States has standing to challenge
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     state laws that are affirmatively interfering with the
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     accomplishment of federal authority.
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               THE COURT:
                           The argument may be and I'll know for
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     sure when counsel comes up, what is it inhibiting the federal
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     government from doing?
               MS. SNYDER: I think that defendants are really
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     trying to make this case about Printz.
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                           I noticed that. I need to get a full
               THE COURT:
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     understanding of that case. Go ahead, please.
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               MS. SNYDER: They're really trying to argue this is
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     just a lack of cooperation. It's just the state refusing to
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     dedicate state resources. This case is not about Printz.
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     This case is not about the Tenth Amendment at all.
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     is about a state law that has not only purported to nullify
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     federal law, but also affirmatively penalizes federal
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     authority, interferes with federal authority, discriminates
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     against federal authority.
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               THE COURT: But you know what Mr. Talent would say
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     as to that argument?
               MS. SNYDER: That it's still cooperation.
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                                                          It's not
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     just about cooperation.
               THE COURT: Because it doesn't penalize federal
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agents, nor does it prohibit you from doing anything or otherwise. It makes it harder.

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MS. SNYDER: Even if we take Missouri's argument as true that it only applies to state and local entities, we are still seeing the tangible effects that this has on -- again, task force officers, the discriminatory refusal to provide information. This isn't just about Missouri not providing information. This is about Missouri targeting the federal government and saying because you are the federal government we will not provide information to you, we will not cooperate with you. And we saw, again, we saw the doctrine of intergovernmental immunity recently reaffirmed by the Supreme Court just a couple weeks ago. If you target, if there is a state law that targets federal authority or targets a federal person or a federal entity based on their federal status, that is illegal, that is unconstitutional. That is exactly what the state is doing here.

THE COURT: And I will let you continue with any comments you may want to make without interruption so you can make any points that you want to with your remaining time.

MS. SNYDER: I have really touched on many of my points, but I'd like to also talk about the tangible harms.

Just because the federal law-enforcement in Missouri is still able to effectuate some arrests, some prosecutions, does not mean that the United States has no harm. We've talked about Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR

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our tangible effects, they do not contest those facts. Those facts stand for themselves. Again, I don't want to 3 reiterate --

THE COURT: -- He tried to a little bit, but I get it. Mr. Talent, he's like, okay Judge, that's okay. doesn't penalize them, it just says we don't have to. Maybe he is relying again on the case of Printz to say, okay.

MS. SNYDER: Much of the state's argument is based on the fact that, for example, the civil penalty provisions don't apply directly to federal officials. But as Your Honor pointed out, these penalty provisions still regulate and still discriminate against and effect federal authority. And that is the problem here. Even taking as true Missouri statement that these only apply to state and local entities, you are still having these tangible harms against federal authority.

> THE COURT: Okay.

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MS. SNYDER: I'd also like to briefly mention standing. I'm happy to talk about it more now. I know we didn't get to discuss it in our initial discussion. Missouri mentioned Calzone. Calzone affirms our position that we have standing here. Calzone involves a plaintiff who sued Missouri State Highway Patrol, and she had standing because the superintendent of the Missouri State Highway Patrol was implementing that statute. The same goes here, Missouri and its officials are implementing H.B. 85 so we have standing on Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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1 that alone.

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Again, standing is also confirmed by both the recent case in the United States v. Washington from a couple weeks ago, also from the 2012 decision from the Supreme Court in the United States v. Arizona. There was not standing problem in these cases. These were exclusively cases brought under the Supremacy Clause, very similar essentially the same posture as here. The Supreme Court considered no problem with standing. So the state's position here means that the Supreme Court necessarily ruled incorrectly in those decisions.

THE COURT: Okay.

MS. SNYDER: I'm happy to for go the rest of my time unless you have any further questions.

THE COURT: Not at this time.

Mr. Talent.

And Mr. Talent, on your way up I'm going to shoot a question to you.

MR. TALENT: Please do.

THE COURT: The United States -- Ms. Snyder seems to have a disagreement. And I just want to be clear and I'll go back and look what the Missouri Supreme Court, what you believe it stands for, if anything, that would impact maybe what I do here today.

MR. TALENT: So two answers to that. The first, I
will concede that the discussion of SAPA, it's two paragraphs.

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THE COURT: How long is the opinion? You said it's two paragraphs?

MR. TALENT: Yes. She is correct that it is in the factual and background section.

THE COURT: Okay.

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MR. TALENT: I just find it very hard to believe that the Missouri Supreme Court is misstating Missouri law in its factual and background section. And I'm not going to casually believe that is the case.

My friend on the other side references Dicta, perhaps it's Dicta. It's very persuasive, it's consistent with the text context as the state has pointed out its briefing. To call this Dicta brings to mind a statement by Judge Hill in the Fifth Circuit concurring in Williams v. Simonbach. That's not a drive-by, that's sitting down ordering cocktails, having a full meal and getting dessert. That's fairly a detailed line by line, section by section discussion of the law. That tracks by the way the text and context of the law. I think it is very odd that the government is pushing an interpretation of SAPA that would render it unconstitutional. That -- they are trying to tell this Court that this law means something different from what the Attorney General's office is telling this Court it means. That it means something very different from the Missouri Supreme Court means. That therefore, because it means what

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the government says it means, it's unconstitutional, it's a black letter candid interpretation that courts read statutes to avoid constitutional infirmity. The government I think can see at the end of the day that if SAPA does what the Missouri Supreme Court says it does, what the state says it does here, it's entirely consistent with Printz. This is a Printz case. I think the best way to show that this is a Printz case, is to grab a little bit with these tangible harms the government What is in the record is that the tangible harms stem from the fact that Missouri law enforcement is not cooperating with the federal government to the same level it did before SAPA. An injunction to remedy those harms, right? The actual injunction that would remedy those harms would basically be to order state of Missouri to cooperate with the federal government at the same level as it was doing before. That is exactly what the Court said is unconstitutional in Printz, that trenches -- if the federal government does it. That trenches on the states' rights under the Tenth Amendment under the federal Constitution. So even spotting the tangible harms, I think the tangible harms in the case, I think it just simply illustrates that this is about state cooperation with the federal government and so therefore Printz is fully controlling. I'd like to point out again, going back to the

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enforcement, the public safety side of this, these tangible
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harms. My friend on the other side she just came up here and told you there are still -- the federal government still enforcing federal law in the state of Missouri. That is not nullification. Nullification is what she said earlier, the federal government cannot enforce federal law in the state of Missouri. That is not what SAPA does.

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THE COURT: What about this notion that the state of Missouri is just or the statute is just targeting the federal government or the federal authority. I think I know your answer, but go ahead.

Two responses. One is it's not. It MR. TALENT: explicitly references and regulates state level entities. the extent federal law and federal regulation, and federal -the stuff in Section 1.470, about individuals who enforce federal law and violation of the law, that is what I think she is referencing as well. There is really only two jurisdictions that enforce any type of gun law in the state of Missouri and it's the federal government and the state of Missouri. I don't know how else you would draw this law. The targeting is just a reference to the basic reality of who enforces a law in the state of Missouri. The federal government is enforcing that law so there is no nullification issue here at all. Happy to answer any other questions on that as well.

THE COURT: Nope.

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I think my friend on the other side, and I want to get a little into standing. She discussed Calzone, saying that it affirms her case. She did not discuss a portion of Calzone saying that the Governor's standing, that standing to sue the Governor and standing to sue the Attorney General on the theory that they have some role in enforcing the law. That there is no traceability and no redressability. And so no standing to seek an injunction or declaration against those entities. That is what lawsuit is about. are not suing the people who have primary enforcement of SAPA under 1.460 and 1.470. They are suing individuals -- that is a private parties. They are suing the state level actors. Her argument that because the Governor and the Attorney General has some implementation authority in general is sufficient to establish standing, was explicitly rejected in Calzone, explicitly rejected in Digital Recognition Network, explicitly rejected in many other cases as well. So the government simply fails to address that aspect of the enforcement provision of SAPA, and therefore, fails to a stress and establish its standing. And fails to establish as I pointed out earlier an equitable cause of action.

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I think at the end of the day -- I'm happy to answer any other questions. But I think the best way to end is actually with what the Eighth Circuit said in Digital Recognition Network which quoting Fitts v. McGhee said that, Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR

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"It would be a very convenient way for obtaining a speedy 1 2 judicial determination of questions of constitutional law 3 which may be raised by individuals, but it is a mode which 4 cannot be applied to the states of the union consistently. 5 But the fundamental principle that they cannot without their 6 assent be brought into court at the suit of private persons." 7 Now, the federal government is different. It's not 8 a private person. But the logic of that quote that a claim that because of an executive authority has some general 9 implementation authority is sufficient to establish Article 10 11 III standing, opens up the Court to opine on abstract 12 questions of the constitutionality of the stature and the 13 absence of concrete facts. That is exactly what this case is. 14 The federal government doesn't point to any particular action 15 that a Missouri officer has done under SAPA that they say 16 actually does violate constitutional law, they say SAPA in 17 total is unconstitutional. It's simply not the case, 18 inconsistent with the reading of the law. It's a very 19 abstract kind of constitutional issue that it is asking this 20 Court to address, which means there is no Article III 21 standing. 2.2 I'm happy to answer any further questions you may 23 have. 24 THE COURT: I don't have any further questions. You 2.5 know, I certainly appreciate the argument of counsel. Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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Certainly the Court will have to do its due diligence and then 1 2 I'll take the matter under advisement. 3 Let me ask this question, and maybe this is a moot 4 issue. You know, I think I'll reserve comment on it for now, 5 and if I need to get the parties on the phone to address it 6 I'll do so. But I do appreciate the argument of counsel and 7 the Court is going to take this matter under advisement. 8 (THEREUPON, the following proceedings were adjourned.) 9 10 CERTIFICATE 11 12 I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript 13 from the record of the proceedings in the above-entitled 14 matter. 15 September 22, 2022 16 /s/ Denise C. Halasey 17 Denise C. Halasey, CCR, CVR-CM, RVR 18 United States Court Reporter 19 20 2.1 2.2 23 24 25 Denise Carroll Halasey CCR, CVR-CM, RVR United States Court Reporter

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